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551 On first thought it might be imagined that the application of the same name to so many people would cause great confusion. As a matter of fact, however, in a village of, say, 20 families, there could have been a maximum of only 40 having the same name. Taking into account deaths and departures, the number was greatly diminished. Moreover, as in general only relations or close friends were addressed in this way, strangers commonly being addressed by their nicknames, the seeming danger of confusion is almost entirely obviated. In those cases, however, in which confusion might result a nickname, or sometimes a clan name, was added to the birth name when speaking of an individual.

553 *Naming feast.*—The clan name was generally bestowed on a child at a special feast held for the purpose or at any feast that happened to be given within a reasonable time after its birth. The bestowal of the clan name was not infrequently delayed by a father's inability to gather the requisite amount of food to be presented to the old man who was to select the name. Occasionally it even happened that a father under such conditions permitted the relatives of his wife to bestow a name on a child, which of course was a name from its mother's clan. The author has personal knowledge of a case in which the first child of a man had a name belonging to his mother's clan while the other children had names belonging to their father's clan. When questioned, the man said that at the time of the birth of his eldest child he was too poor to pay for the honor of having his child receive a name and that he had allowed his wife's relatives to give it a name. When his other children were born, however, as he was in better condition financially he had been able to name them in the usual way. Although a child, irrespective of his individual name, always belonged to his father's clan, there seemed to exist a feeling that a person having a name not taken from his own clan was more or less incomplete. A person possessing no clan name was regarded as having low social standing.

When a child was adopted it retained its former birth name and clan name.

601 *Relationship terms.*—The system of relationship terms used by the Winnebago is as follows:[1]

MALE TERMS OF ADDRESS

Teok'a', p. and m. grandfather (direct address).
Hi'teok'ę, p. and m. grandfather and father-in-law.
K'u'nįk'a, p. and m. grandmother (direct address).
Hik'arok'e, p. and m. grandmother and mother-in-law.
Dja'dji, father (direct address).

[1] Abbreviations: p., paternal; m., maternal; br., brother; sr., sister.

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CHAPTER VI

WARFARE AND THE COUNCIL LODGE

Warfare

[721] War was one of the most important elements in the life of the [183] Winnebago. The life of the warrior was the ideal toward which all men strove. It not only satisfied certain emotional needs but it [534] was so inextricably interwoven with social standing in the community and with individual prestige that Winnebago life is unthinkable without it. It is not surprising, then, that the prayer for [782] success on the warpath was the most important prayer that men offered up to the spirits and that it was reechoed in almost all the ceremonies. (Pls. 43, 44, 45.)

An element of culture fraught with so much significance to the individual and the social group was bound to be surrounded by innumerable customs, regulations, and restrictions. It was a life that was at stake every time an individual went on the warpath, and remembering the value of each life to a small community, it is not to be wondered at if there is a definite attempt on the part of the social group to restrict individual activity in this particular regard. An individual might go on the warpath either alone or in company with a few people, but the community, in the person of the chief, insisted that he show some warrant for his action. If no warrant of [626] any kind could be given, he subjected himself to the only restrictive measures the chief and the community could adopt, disapproval, jeers, and temporary loss of social standing and prestige. So much, as far as his own person was concerned. If his action jeopardized the life or lives of other members of the tribe he had then to face [636] the relatives of these people, just as any individual who had committed some wrong. It is hardly likely that many men would willingly run any risks of unnecessarily antagonizing their fellow tribesmen when the proper means of preparing for the warpath was open to all. A careful perusal of the system of education given on page 166 makes it clear that a sufficiently large number of methods for obtaining consent to lead a party were given, and that it was possible for every male individual to go on the warpath frequently if he so desired. Certain requirements were, however, necessary. It was not left to each individual to decide for himself [622] whether he possessed these, but the final decision always lay in the hands of the chief.

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always kept on hand and offers it to the spirit who controls this particular war party. The others do the same. Then he would cross the river. Whenever he drank any water the others would also do so, and if he refrained so would the others. If at any time during the night when they are camping the war leader should wake up and sing some songs, be they grizzly bear, black rust paint, or night songs, all those others who know similar songs would likewise begin to sing.

Miscellaneous war customs. There were, in former times, many miscellaneous customs connected with warfare, most of which have now been forgotten. However, in myths and accounts of war parties a number of them are still mentioned.

When a war party surprised a lodge, all the occupants were killed or captured and the poles that were spliced together to form the arches were released so that they sprang back to either side and assumed a vertical position.

When a war party surprised a lodge in which there were children they generally killed them, cut off their heads, pried open their mouths so as to give them the appearance of laughing, and then placed the heads on their bodies again and arranged them against the door, so that when their father came home he would find them greeting him as usual. A brave warrior would never flinch at such a sight, but would prepare a meal as usual and speak to the children as if they were alive and offer them something to eat. Only then would he bury them. Immediately after they had been buried he would go on the warpath to revenge them.

Frequently the skulls of slain enemies are used as lodge weights and their skin is taken off and used as mats, door-flaps, etc.

War honors.—"It is the ideal of every Winnebago youth," says an informant, "to kill an enemy in full sight of his friends and thus to gain for himself a headdress and an eagle feather." Most deeds considered valorous, according to Winnebago ideas, have associated with them certain insignia which are always worn in public, giving evidence to all that so-and-so has performed such and such a valorous deed.

These insignia consist of the following:

Headdress and feather.—Denote that an individual has scalped and killed a man and torn off his scalp still bleeding. He is entitled to a red headdress and eagle feather. This also includes the man who has counted first coup (*sarinkwahi'na*).

Red headdress.—If he has killed the enemy and not scalped him (*teank'nic wak'e'rē*.)

Eagle feather.—Worn by one who has counted second coup.

Hanging eagle feather.—Worn by one who has counted third coup.

Eagle feather stuck crosswise in hair.—Worn by one who has counted fourth coup.

Waxpirusgitc.—Consists of a rope worn around the neck. It is worn by the leader of that warpath who has captured an enemy.

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Hi'shere.—Arm band worn by the person who did the actual capturing. If two enemies are captured he can wear an arm band on each arm.

Red-dyed eagle feather.—A red-dyed eagle feather worn by a war leader who has brought a captured enemy to camp and tortured him with embers.

Ankle-band of skunk or polecat.—An ankle-band of the skin of a skunk or polecat worn by one who has seen an enemy dead on the battle field and kicked him. If he does it for the second time, he may wear skunk skins on both legs below the knee. If the leader does it he is allowed to use an otter skin.

Rope tied to belt.—A rope of any desirable length tied to a belt may be worn by an individual who has succeeded in either capturing or killing an enemy's horse. At a dance no one would dare step on it. If an individual does not want to wear this, he may in its place wear a rope around his body.

Legs painted white.—An individual who has been on the warpath in winter may paint his legs white, from the knee down.

Gun painted red.—An individual who has killed an enemy with a gun may carry this gun at a dance and paint it red.

Spear.—If a person kills an enemy with a spear, he may carry this and tie to it any symbol (eagle feather, etc.) that he has gained.

Kohi'reka.—An individual who was a well-known warrior and had fought in front of his comrades, and one whom the enemy respected, was entitled to a long stick with eagle feathers. At a dance he had the privilege of dancing with the stick in front of his comrades.

Hand on face.—Any warrior making all four coups, who did not care to wear a dress, might paint a man's hand in black upon his face.

Raven's skin around neck.—If an individual captured more than one woman in war, he was entitled to wear a raven skin around his neck.

Body painted yellow and wounded spot red.—If a man had been wounded on the warpath, he had the right at a dance to paint his body yellow and the wounded spots red, with red streaks running from the wounds.

Otter skin around knee and naggi'ro.—A great warrior, one who has gained all the war honors, can, if he does not wish to wear his separate insignia, wear instead an otter skin attached below the knee, whose ends are not quite united. He may also wear a *naggi'ro* consisting of a stick, whittled and painted red, in his hair.

Valorous deeds are also perpetuated on the grave posts when the warriors who have accompanied the corpse to the grave count coup and draw a picture symbolizing their particular deed on the post. It should therefore be remembered that the markings on these posts do not refer at all to the valorous deeds of the deceased but to those of warriors who happened to count coup at the grave.

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The Council Lodge

The clan in the council lodge.—There is one place where the clan finds representation as a political unit, and that is the council lodge. No unanimity seems to exist with regard to the positions of the various clans in the council lodge, but here again the position of those clans with specific governmental functions seems to be far more stable than that of the others. The clans are generally so seated as always to be opposite their "friend" clan, from which fact a clan frequently calls its friend "my opposite." It is, however, interesting to note that this seating does not hold for two friend groups, the Water-spirit-Buffalo and Elk-Deer. The Water-spirit clan occupies a high position in the council lodge, apparently quite out of proportion to its present importance in the social organization of the tribe, but in consonance with its former importance.

Councils.—No important undertaking was ever attempted without the holding of a council. On such occasions the principal members of each clan would assemble in a long lodge and discuss in great detail. Nothing comparable to a vote that might express the desire of those assembled was taken, but the opinions of those present were always presented in their speeches. As a rule the chief, or some person especially interested in definite matter, led the discussion. Owing to the complete absence of specific examples of councils it is very difficult to obtain a very clear idea of their working. The numerous councils relating to treaties with the whites are of very little interest or significance in this connection.

There was unquestionably a regular order of entering and seating in the council lodge. What this order was it is impossible to determine now, for the statements made by different informants were contradictory. Since, however, the contradictions in the seating arrangements seemed to be correlated with different clan membership the discrepancies may be due, not to lack of knowledge but to actual differences. A few examples of the seating arrangements follow (figs. 29–32):

Description of order of entering the council lodge.—Informant, member of Bear clan. The Buffalo clan would always be the last to enter the council lodge because the members remained outside making announcements until all the others had entered. The members of the Thunderbird clan enter first, making a circuit of the lodge before taking their seats. The members of the Warrior clan followed and took their seats just opposite those of the Thunderbird clan. Then the Water-spirit clan follows, and then come the rest as indicated in the diagram. This is the only place where the Bear clan is not in control of the arrangements.

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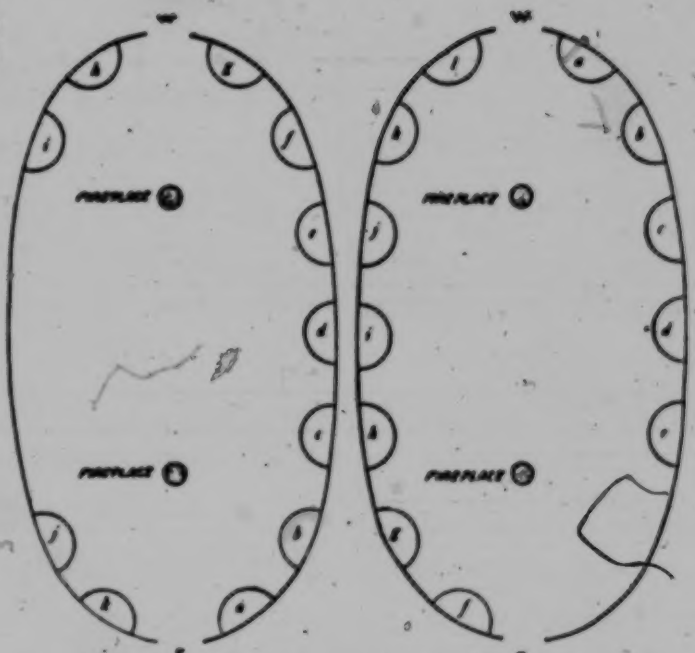

FIG. 31.—Seating arrangement in council lodge according to Thunderbird clan: 1, Water clan; 2, Water-spirit clan; 3, Bear clan; 4, Elk clan; 5, Pigeon clan; 6, Big-fish clan; 7, Bear clan; 8, Buffalo clan; 9, Buffalo clan; 10, Thunderbird clan. (The order of importance is from 1 to 5.)

FIG. 32.—Seating arrangement in council lodge according to Eagle clan: 1, Thunderbird clan; 2, Bear clan; 3, Water clan; 4, Pigeon clan; 5, Eagle clan; 6, Buffalo clan; 7, Elk clan; 8, Buffalo clan; 9, Deer clan; 10, Water-spirit clan; 11, Water clan.

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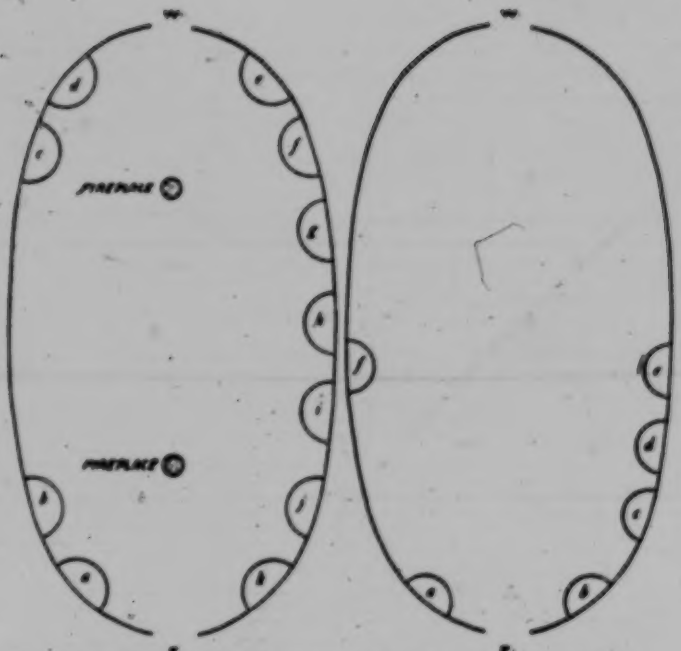

FIG. 11.—Seating arrangement in council lodge according to Thunderbird clans: 1, Thunderbird clan; 2, Eagle clan; 3, Buffalo clan; 4, Bear clan; 5, Elk clan; 6, Deer clan; 7, Pigeon clan; 8, Elk clan; 9, Deer clan; 10, Water-spirit clan; 11, Warrior clan.

FIG. 12.—Seating arrangement in council lodge according to Wolf clans: 1, Thunderbird clan; 2, Eagle clan; 3, Buffalo clan; 4, Water-spirit clan; 5, Bear clan; 6, Wolf clan.

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you will be able to obtain these and in addition glory and the war honors.[6] If, in truth, you thirst yourself to death,[7] our grandfathers who are in control of wars—to whom all the war powers that exist in this world belong—they will assuredly bless you.

My son, if you do not wear out your feet through ceaseless activity (in fasting), if you do not blacken your face for fasting, it will be all in vain that you inflict sufferings upon yourself. Blessings are not obtained through mere desire alone; they are not obtained without making the proper sacrifices or without putting yourself time and again in proper mental condition. Indeed, my son, they are not to be obtained without effort on your part. So see to it that, of all those spirits whom Earthmaker created, one at least has pity upon you and blesses you. Whatever such a spirit says to you that will unquestionably happen.

Now, my son, if you do not obtain a spirit to strengthen you, you will not amount to anything in the estimation of your fellowmen. They will show you little respect. Perhaps they will make fun of you.

Do not die in the village. It is not good to die there. Whenever a person is grown up that is what is told him. Nor is it good, my son, to let women journey ahead of you from amidst the village. It is not good thus to let women die before you.[8] Therefore, in order to prevent this, our ancestors encouraged one another to fast. Some day you will travel in a difficult road; there will be some crisis in your life, and then when it is too late you will begin to reproach yourself for not having fasted at the proper time. So that you may not have occasion to blame yourself at such a time I counsel you to fast. If you do not obtain a blessing when the other women are dividing the war prizes brought home from the warpath by their brothers, your sisters will stand aside envying them. If, however, you are blessed by the spirits in control of war power, and if you then return victorious, how proud your sisters will be to receive the war honors and to wear them around their necks and participate with them in the victory dance! And in this way your sisters likewise will be strengthened by your war deeds. You will keep well, in health.

My son, it will indeed be good if you obtain war powers, but our ancestors say it is difficult. Especially difficult is it to be leader on

[6] There are four war honors, the highest going to the Indian who first touches a dead enemy, the second belonging to the one who kills him, and the last two to those who touch him second and third. The war prizes generally consisted of necklaces of wampum which were given to those who had obtained the first war honors. The victor also would be given the privilege of first smoking the pipe on his return to his home. The prize of the wampum necklace was always given by the victor to his elder sister.

[7] That is, fast.

[8] That is, obtain war power so that you can go to the warpath and prevent yourself from dying in the village or have women die before you.

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the warpath.[1] So they say. If you do not become an individual warranted to lead a war party, yet mistaking yourself for one although really an ordinary warrior, you "throw away a man," your act will be considered most disgraceful. A mourner might harm you in revenge for the fact that you have caused him to mourn, and burn you with embers. Your people will all be sad, both on account of your disgrace and on account of the pain inflicted upon you.

My son, not with the blessing of one of the spirits merely, nor with the blessing of twenty, for that matter, can you go on the warpath. You must have the blessing of all the spirits above the earth, and of all those on the earth, and of all those who are pierced through the earth;[2] of all those under the earth; of all those who are under the water; of all those that are on the sides of the earth, i. e., all the four winds; of the Disease-giver;[3] of the Sun; of the Daylight;[4] of the Moon; of the Earth; and of all those who are in control of war powers—with the blessings of all these deities must you be provided before you can lead a successful war party.

My son, if you cast off dress[5] men will be benefited by your deeds. You will be an aid to all your people. If your people honor you, it will be good. And they will like you even the more if you obtain a

[1] Among the Winnebago any individual who has been blessed with the necessary powers to lead a warpath may do so, but it is absolutely essential that his blessing directing him be of such a nature that every possible contingency is included therein. Such complete blessings are, of course, not common nor can they be obtained except through unusual exertions. If you are blessed with just the ordinary or incomplete war powers and you nevertheless undertake to lead a war party, you may either be defeated or perhaps only partially successful, and, what is worse, you may lose some of the warriors who started with you. Your restlessness has thus caused the death of some of your fellow tribesmen. It is understood that every warrior before starting on the warpath turn his "blessing" over to the chief of the tribe for examination, and if the chief considers it complete the warrior is not held responsible for the lack of success or loss of life. If the chief does not consider an individual's blessing sufficient to justify the object he has in view and forbids the warrior to go, and if the latter nevertheless goes, or granted the case he does not even submit his "blessing" to the chief for scrutiny, and succeeds, then he is held directly responsible for any mishap on the warpath. The relatives of any individual thus killed may hold the war leader responsible and demand compensation; or, as is indicated by II, a, 1, three lines later, a mourner of a son, one who has been placed in mourning by the criminal inefficiency of the war leader, might attack, perhaps kill him, without being held guilty of any crime. It must of course be understood that such occurrences would seldom take place. We must, however, remember throughout these "teachings" that one of the objects of the old men was to draw the most alluring pictures of the rewards that would fall to the lot of those who followed in the footsteps of their ancestors, and, on the other hand, to draw the most lurid pictures of the wretchedness that befell those who deviated, no matter in what details, from the customs sanctioned by age.

[2] According to the Winnebago creation myth, when Earthmaker, the creator of the earth, first came to some unknown and began creating life the earth on which we were to live was in continual motion, and nothing that the former could do seemed to be able to stop it. From above he threw down grass, trees, etc., but all was of no avail. Finally he hit upon the happy expedient of pinning the earth down at the four corners by means of four enormous snakes, or, as some say, by means of four mythical animals known as water spirits. It is to these that the old man is referring here. According to the story, even these were of no avail, and it was only when he finally placed four mythical beings known as "Island Weights" at the four corners that our planet stopped spinning. These "Island Weights" seem to be identical with the spirits of the four cardinal points, but they are not to be confused with the four winds mentioned later.

[3] A deity conceived of as dealing out life-giving powers from one half of his body and death-giving powers from the other half. He is also supposed to disseminate disease. Disease-giver as a literal translation of the Winnebago word, but this probably does not convey the exact meaning. There seems to be no parallel to this peculiar deity among the other Siouan tribes or among the Algonquins.

[4] Daylight or light is conceived of as something different and distinct from the sun.

[5] That is, if you give away things frequently, especially to poor people.

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limb.[12] They will indeed like you very much if you obtain a limb, or, even better, two or three. If you do thus, wherever people boil an animal with a head " you will always be able to eat.

If on account of your bravery you are permitted to tell of your war exploits during the Four Nights' Wake for the benefit of the soul of the deceased, do not try to add to your glory by exaggerating any exploit, for by so doing you will cause the soul to stumble on its journey to the spirit land." If you do this and add an untruth to the account of your war exploit, you will die soon after. The war spirits always hear you. Tell a little less. The old men say it is wise.

My son, it is good to die in war. If you die in war, your soul will not be unconscious. You will have complete disposal of your soul and it will always be happy.[13] If you should ever desire to return to this earth and live here again, you will be able to do so. A second life as a human being you may live, or, if you prefer, as an inhabitant of the air (a bird) you may live, or you may roam the earth as an animal. Thus it is to him who dies in battle.

My son, fast for an honorable place among your fellowmen. Fast, so that when you are married you may have plenty of food; that you may be happy and that you may not have to worry about your children. If in your fastings you have a vision of your future home, the members of your family will be lacking in nothing during their life. Fast for the food that you may need. If you fast a sufficiently large number of times, when in after life you have children and they cry for food you will be able to offer a piece of deer or mouse meat without any difficulty. Your children will never be hungry.

[12] That is, a war honor, but more specifically if you "count coup" first. The honor of killing an enemy and the three honors connected with first touching his dead body are always spoken of as "the four limbs of the body."

[13] That is, wherever people give a Winter Feast. At this feast a deer, bear and all, is served to the invited guests. The head may only be eaten by brave warriors.

[14] At the death of a clansman an elaborate wake takes place. To this wake, as the principal participants, three or four warriors who have counted "coup" are always invited. It is believed that the souls of all the enemies one has killed become the slaves of the victor and he may command them to do his bidding at any time. If the victor tells his exploit and then commands the enslaved soul to take care of the recently departed person in whose honor the wake is being given, the soul of the conquered enemy will be of considerable aid in overcoming the obstacles that are supposed to infest the path between this earth and the land of the spirits. These can not be overcome by the merits of the individual alone. If, however, a warrior becomes vainglorious, the soul of the recently departed individual will fall into the abyssm of the winds surrounds one of the heavenly earths through which he must pass. That is what is meant by "stumbling."

[15] It must be remembered that the Winnebago believe that all that constitutes "life," "consciousness," continues to exist after death, the only difference being that in the former case an envelope, the body, is present and, in the latter case, it is not. Winnebago philosophy does not concern itself with what happens when a soul becomes "unconscious" at death, which would, of course, be the case with all those who do not die in battle, but it does insist that to him who dies on the warpath the moment of death does not even deprive of consciousness. He goes right on living, as if he were still an inhabitant of this earth, the only difference being that the corporeal envelope has fallen off his soul and that, although he sees and hears human beings, he himself is not visible nor his voice audible.

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If you ever get married, my son, do not make an idol of your wife. 867
The more you worship her, the more will she want to be worshipped. 562
Thus the old people said. They warned the young men against the 581
example of those men who always hearken to what the women say, 593
who are the slaves of women. Often they would speak in the following manner: "You have had many warnings, but it may happen that some day you will not pay any attention to them. Then, when they call upon you to take part in the Winter Feast you may perhaps refuse to go. When a war party is leaving you may listen to the voice of your wife and not join them. Thus you will be as one who has been brought up as a woman." Men of every description do what is demanded of them, you alone do not act as a man should. You never perform a man's deed. If you were to go to a Winter Feast, you would be handed a lean piece of meat.[a] Why should you subject yourself to the danger of being made fun of? A real brave man, when he goes to a Winter Feast, will receive a deer's head, while you will only receive a lean piece of meat. That is all they will give you to eat. It will stick in your throat."[b] [558]

My son, if you keep on listening to your wife, after a while she will never let you go to any feast at all. All your relatives will scold you and your own sisters will think little of you. They will say to one another, "Let us not ever go over to see him. He is of no help to anyone." Finally, when you have become a real slave to your wife, she might tell you to hit your own relatives, and you would do it. For these reasons, my son, I warn you against the words of women. Steel yourself against them. For if you do not do so you will find yourself different from other men. It is not good to be enslaved by a woman.

My son, this also I will tell you. Women can never be watched. If you try to watch them you will merely show your jealousy and your female relatives will also be jealous. After a while you will become so jealous of your wife that she will leave you and run away. First, you worshipped her above everything else, then you became jealous and watched her all the time, and the result will be that she will run away from you. You yourself will be to blame for this. You thought too much of a woman and in worshipping her you humbled yourself, and as a consequence she has been taken away from you. You are making the woman suffer and making her feel unhappy. All the other women will know of this, and no one will want to marry you again. Everyone will consider you a very bad man.

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[a] He may mean a buffalo, but it is far more probable that he merely means to call him a woman, an insult sufficiently great.

[b] A man who has distinguished himself as a warrior is always invited to eat the head of the animal offered at the Winter Feast. Those next in distinction are given the fat pieces of meat, and the lean pieces—to the Winnebago, the poorest—are given to those who are of no importance. [554 262]

[c] I. e., the meat will stick in your throat, because you will feel so much ashamed of yourself.

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political function as upon anything else. The exact time when this socialization took place is of no great import here. Among the Winnebago, for instance, some individuals claim that the functions of the public crier were inherent in the Buffalo clan, while others insist that any person who had counted coup four times was eligible for the office. Now, in this case not only is it possible but it is extremely probable that the office of public crier was originally connected with an individual, and that subsequently it became associated with the Buffalo clan, probably by reason of a certain relationship existing between this clan and the Chief clan. It must, of course, be remembered that a grouping had already taken place, because the requirement of having counted coup four times made a large number of warriors potentially public criers. Its association with membership in the Buffalo clan represented, on the one hand, a restriction of the number of individuals, and on the other hand, the addition of another qualification. Historically, then, the qualification of membership in the clan supplanted the other qualifications, at least in the eyes of a number of individuals. What has been said of the development of the functions of the Buffalo may also be generally applied to the Warrior or Hawk clan.

Political functions may, however, become connected with a group unit without the individual playing any rôle either in directing or in developing it. The functions of preserving peace and of acting as intermediary, that among the Winnebago are connected with the Thunderbird clan, and the police and disciplinary functions connected with the Bear clan, may represent such types of association. In the absence of historical data, no demonstration can be made. It will, however, be shown later that association of ceremonial-religious functions with a social unit has actually occurred. That the police and disciplinary functions of the Bear clan developed from functions of individuals, on the basis of requirements similar to those of the public crier, is quite improbable, and no indication of that exists. Similarly the functions of the Thunderbird clan do not lend themselves readily to such an interpretation. But even should we accept the necessity for the priority of the one over the other types of association, we must still insist that psychologically the functions are in each case associated with a group unit.

Four of the Winnebago clans have specific political functions the details of which are discussed elsewhere. The Thunderbird, the chief clan, and in addition to the fact that the chief of the tribe is selected from it, has important functions connected with the preservation of peace; the Warrior clan has functions connected with war; the Bear clan, those relating to policing and discipline, both within the village and while on the hunt, etc.; and the Buffalo clan, those relating to the office of public crier and intermediary between the

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Arnold Winne-
bago told the author that long ago a young man wanted to marry a girl belonging to his phratry and refused to listen to the entreaties of his father and mother. Finally the father, in desperation, went over to the lodge of a man belonging to one of the clans into which the young man could marry and asked for one of the sacred possessions. It was, of course, refused, and when the man was asked what other requests he wished to make, he asked that the host's daughter be allowed to marry his son. This was, of course, granted, and thus the boy was compelled to marry into the proper phratry. 614 615 582 778

One Winnebago interpreted the custom in an entirely different way. Exactly how much importance is to be attached to this explanation it is hard to say. According to this informant, the insult lay not in going to the fireplace or taking a firebrand, but in asking for it. The insult apparently consists in not taking it for granted that anyone entering the lodge was permitted to do what he wished. In other words, his asking was a breach of etiquette. 614 372 689 [576]

The typical method of burial in the Thunderbird clan was scaffold burial. It has long since been discontinued.

The burial customs seem to have been the same for all the clans. It may, however, be that in former times there were slight differences. For instance, in the first version of the Thunderbird clan origin myth the statement is made that the branch of a tree was placed at the grave and a small stick, painted red, attached to it. The author has no recollection of ever hearing the same statement made in connection with any other of the clans. 614 764 [184]

There are four songs associated with the Thunderbird clan. These are supposed to have been sung by the clan ancestors when they came to this earth, and are now always sung when a member of the clan dies, and on a few other occasions. 614 [333]

According to one informant, members of the Elk, Warrior, Deer, and Buffalo clans acted as servants to the Thunderbird clan on various occasions. The same informant also claimed that the Warrior clansmen took specific orders from the Thunderbird clansmen when on the warpath. [554]

According to another informant, Thunderbird marks at death are a half circle on the forehead, made with charcoal. The proper marking is, however, that shown in plate 46. [765]

Two dog names used in the Thunderbird clan are obtained—*pi°zikirutega; ka-iwakitca°ga.*

The only feast specifically connected with the Thunderbird clan was the so-called chief feast, of which a description will be found on page 318. One of the divisions of the war-bundle feast is often considered as sacred to the thunderbird, but this is always the deity thunderbird, not the ancestor of the clan. [796] [776]

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539 might have something to eat. The oldest brother said, "What are
614 we going to eat?" Then the youngest two took the bow and arrows
776 that Earthmaker had given them and started toward the east. Not long after the third brother came into view with a young deer on his back and the youngest brother also came with a young deer about 2 years old on his back. The deer that were killed, and those that killed them, were also brothers. They were very much delighted that they had obtained food. Then said they, "Let us give our grandfather the first taste." Saying thus, they cut off the ends of the tongues and the heart and threw them into the fire with some fat. The first people to call on them were the War clan people. They came from the west. Then came four others. They were the thunders. Thus they were called the youngest brothers. Then came those of the earth. Then came those of the Deer clan. Then those of the Snake clan. Then came those of the Elk clan. Then came those of the Bear clan. Then came those of the Fish clan. Then came those of the Water-spirit clan and all the other clans that exist. Then there appeared on the lake a very white bird—swan they called it. And after that, all the other water birds that exist came. And they named them in the order of their coming until the lake was quite full. Then the people began to dress the deer meat. Suddenly something came and alighted on the deer meat. "What is that?" they said. Then said Kunuga, the eldest brother, "It is a wasp, and the first dog that I possess, if it is black, *Wasp* I shall call it." Thus he spoke. "And as the wasp scented and knew of the deer dressing so shall the dog be toward other animals, and wherever the dog is, and animals are in the windward, he shall scent them." They made a feast with the deer for Earthmaker and threw tobacco into the fire and offered it to him. And to the other clans they showed how fire was to be made and gave them some, "For," they said, "each of you must now make fire for yourselves, as we shall not always lend you some." There the people made their home. It was just the time of the year when the grass comes as far as the knee.

One day they reported that something very strange was near the camp; but they said to themselves, "We will leave it alone." In a little while it moved nearer. Thus it moved toward the camp and soon it began to eat deer bones. They allowed it to become one of their clans and took it into their house. It was the dog or wolf. They killed one and made a feast to Earthmaker, telling him all about what they had done.

In the beginning the Thunder clansmen were as powerful as the Thunder spirits themselves. It was the Thunder people who made the ravines and the valleys. While wandering around the earth the Thunder people struck the earth with their clubs and made dents in
● [554] the hills. That is the reason that the upper clans are chiefs of all the others and that the least of all are the dog people. So it was.

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614 173 have been subjected to literary and shamanistic remodeling. Only the shorter accounts show in their subject matter and presentation certain affinities to the origin myths of the other clans the longer ones being entirely different. Another cause for these marked differences may lie in the circumstance that since the longer accounts were associated with semi-esoteric ceremonies, the war-bundle feasts, they were known to but few individuals in the clan, whereas the shorter legends could be learned by anyone who chose to pay for 614 them. To this must also be added the fact that presumably some of the accounts current were based on hearsay knowledge.

[554] The Bear clan was, next to the Thunderbird clan, the most important in the tribe. Its lodge was either in the center of the vil- [361] lage, opposite that of the Thunderbird clan, or at the extreme end, depending upon the scheme of village organization accepted as [727] correct. In it were confined the prisoners of war and the insignia of office possessed by the clan, such as the so-called standards, really crooks, and the so-called *namaxinixini*. Some individuals also claimed [513 345] that unmarried men were allowed to sleep in the lodge, although they were not clear as to whether they did this in order to guard the prisoners confined there or simply used it as a club house.

The clan songs are given on page 235. The same songs are used [533] when gathering the clansmen together to select soldiers.

Apart from the war bundle or war bundles, the Bear clan possessed 614 three insignia—a war club of a definite shape, the curiously whittled 778 baton of authority called *namaxinixini*, and the crooks used in battle called *hoke'reu*s. Whenever the clan was exercising any of its functions the leader would always hold in his hands the *namaxinixini*.

The functions of the clan were probably the most important in the tribe and were entirely disciplinary. The author obtained the following description from an old Winnebago:

614 625 The Bear clansmen are the soldiers or sergeants-at-arms of the tribe. They have complete control of everything concerning discipline. Whenever the Winnebago are traveling or moving (i. e., on their various seasonal moves), the Bear clansmen lead, and wherever they decide to stop, there the leader would put his stick in the ground and the other Bear clansmen would do the same, arranging them all in a row pointing toward the direction in which they were going. The main body of the tribe would follow at a certain distance. No member of the tribe would dare pass ahead of the row of sticks. If, for instance, the tribe was on the fall move and traveling toward a country in which there was plenty of game, should any individual go back and around the sticks in order to kill game on his own account, the soldiers (Bear clansmen) would, as soon as he was detected, go over to his lodge and burn it up with all its contents and break all his dishes. The only thing they would spare would be his life and that of the other members of his family. If the one who had transgressed the rules made any attempt at resistance he would be severely whipped. If he refused to submit to this and took up his fire arms to fight, the soldiers would stand there calmly, but the moment he made an attempt to shoot they would kill him. In such a case nothing would be said either by the rest of the tribe or his relatives about

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Hiciljaxgga.....White-faced.
Hicdjadjopga.....Four-eyed.
Hi^p'iwinga.....Good-haired.
Hi^tcoga.....Blue-furred.
Hominank'a.....She who sits howling.
Manidjopga.....Four walking.
Manank'oga.....Throws up the earth (with his hind legs).
Ma^ok'acutraminank'a.....He who sits on the tree banks.
Nicljahuga.....Coming from the water.
Nicljawanik'iriga.....He who brings them back from the water.
P^otcoga.....Green forehead.
P^o-ergaga.....He who has a white forehead
P^ô^ezakaga.....Big eared person.
Xe-acraraminank'a.....He who sits on a bare hill.
Xe-cmik'a.....He who dwells in a hill.
Xe-oratcga.....He who travels to the hill.
Sintcga.....Bushy tail.
Tcarawiga.....He who holds a deer in his mouth.
Trasirawiga.....He who carries deer-feet in his mouth.
Tconaxkohûnga.....Chief wolf.
Tconaxketcowinga.....First wolf.
Tcominank'a.....Sits as a leader.
Wanuniniga.....He from whom nothing is hidden.
Warawaisinega.....He who carries something in his mouth.
Warawaiguga.....Comes back with something in his mouth.
Waruxewinga.....She who chases.
Wirap'ega.....He who lies in wait for them.

The Water-Spirit Clan

614

Introduction

A rather poor version of the Water-spirit clan was obtained. It is, however, one of the few clan origin myths that contains the definite statement that the clan ancestors changed into human beings when they gathered at Green Bay. [173]

The functions of the Water-spirit clan were, in former times, exceedingly important. Almost all the informants were agreed that a chief was selected from that clan, but the exact nature of this chieftainship is not clear. One informant, himself a member of the Bear clan, said that the Water-spirit clan was the chief of the lower phratry; that the clans were arranged in three groups, one over which the Thunderbird clan ruled; another over which the Water-spirit clan ruled; and a third over which the Bear clan ruled. He insisted, however, that just as the Thunderbird clan rules over the whole tribe in a general way, so the Water-spirit clan ruled over the clans of the lower phratry. Other informants claimed that the Water-spirit clan originally ruled over the entire tribe and that its place was subsequently usurped by the Thunderbird clan. It might be best to regard the function of the Water-spirit clan as akin but subsidiary to that of the Thunderbird clan. [622] [554]

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ORIGIN MYTHS

FIRST VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

This is the origin story of the Deer people. In the beginning a black deer accompanied by an elk appeared in the center of the earth, and they went in the direction of the east. There they were going. Then the black deer said, "My dear younger brother, I am heavy on account of my excessive fatness, go you alone and I will remain here." So he remained there and did not go: and then to the center of the earth, to the place from which they started, he returned. Then he came back to the earth, and again they asked him. Four times they asked. There the necklace of money ornaments he recognized, the black deer did.[a] Thus the Deer clan beat them, and therefore they have the name *Black-Deer-chief*. As they went so they returned again. Again the necklace made of money he (the black deer)[b] recognized. The earth they went around. Then again the black deer went to the east. It was a large one who went ahead, and as he was going along, to his astonishment, they reached the place from which they had started.

"My younger brother," said Black-deer, "you try to do it."[c] And the second-born went ahead and the others followed, and again they were drawn back to the place from which they started. Then the third-born went first and the others followed and the same thing happened. Then they told the fourth-born to go first, and he went in front and suddenly he struck his horn, the one on the right, upon the earth, and, behold, grass suddenly appeared. It was a very white bud that he had caused to appear. Then he struck his left horn on the earth, and he made a tree appear and the fruit of this tree was meant to be eaten. Then they ate the fruit of the tree. The top of the tree there they ate. Thus they said. And they call a woman even to-day *She-who-eats-the-top-of-the-tree*. And then they began to walk and the earth trembled from their walking. Toward the east side they went. From this fact they have a name, *He-who-shakes-the-earth*. And again as some of the brothers were small they have the name *Small-deer*. They also have the name *Walking-leader*. And they also have names *She-who-comes-back* and *He-who-comes-back*, because in the beginning they always came back to the place from which they started. Whatever actions they went through, from these they derived their names.

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[a] The thought is not quite clear here, due to the fact that something has probably been omitted by the narrator.

[b] There seems to be a contest between the deer and the elk as to who would be able to see the "money-necklace" first. Under the term "money-necklace" they evidently mean the medallions distributed by the American Government to those whom they recognized as chiefs. The recognition of the "money-necklace" is evidently going to decide the chieftainship between the deer and the elk.

[c] Some power is evidently drawing them back to the place from which they started.

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Toads are used, but only for poison medicines. The quail's heart 825
is used for the same purpose. If a person is killed outright, his heart 756
is used as a medicine, as the human heart is regarded as having great 826
efficacy in such medicines. It is used in war, for compelling people
to give you presents, and for courting women. The bear likewise is
used for a variety of purposes. Its liver is especially powerful. It
is rubbed over the body whenever in pain. It is often used by
women who have injured themselves in childbirth, or in the form of
tonics, poultices, and emetic; or for toothaches, bathing sore eyes, ear- [757]
aches, headaches; as snuff, as a physic, for burns, strictures, boils, hemor-
rhages, injections in the rectum, consumption, measles, dysentery,
chills, nosebleed, pains in the stomach, and headaches caused by
poisoning.

Sometimes a woman would take a hair of her husband and stick 832
it into some bad medicine. In such a case he would never leave her
for he would become very much enamored of her. If ever she went
away, he would miss her very much. However, he always had a
headache. Finally he would get sick and lose his appetite and then
his eyesight. That is why it is forbidden to use this medicine,
although some still do it.

Many Winnebago are blind, because there is a medicine that 754
causes blindness. If one person offends another who possesses such
a medicine, the latter would cause the offender to become blind.

The Winnebago have medicines for every purpose; for courting, [832]
for becoming rich, for obtaining good looks, etc. Even if a person
is very holy, these poisoners can poison him. If a man was a good
hunter or if he was wise and good, these bad shamans would poison
him. If an individual was a great medicine man and these bad
shamans got jealous, they would poison him. Indeed, only if a person
was poor and lowly would they like him. Such a man they would
never poison for they had no reason for being jealous of him. A
bad shaman is always treated with the greatest respect and honor,
because he kills many people.

A warrior is also greatly respected and flattered. It is the Indian's 554
greatest desire to become a warrior. All desire that, and they also 156
wish to become great medicine men and bad shamans. [756]

This is the way they prepare and use their courting medicines. 832
The courting medicine known to me is a plant of apparently two 278
varieties, one of which has a blue blossom and the other no blossom at
all. Otherwise they are alike. The one with the blue blossom is the
male and the one without the blossom is the female. When I go out
to dig this plant, I do not dig for these two specimens unless I can
find them growing together closely. Even then I do not dig any two [824]
specimens unless the male is found growing on the east side. For
that reason it is very hard to find them. As soon as I find two that

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796 Then the leader of the north band said: "I also will start a song.
575 I greet you."
539 Then the leader of the west band said: "I also will start a song. I greet you."

Then the leader of the south band said: "I also will start a song. I greet you."

Then the leader of the east band sang a song, and the other leaders sang their songs. Each band sang its own songs, not paying any attention to the songs of the others. Each band sang different songs. This they do in order to drown the voices of the others. Should one band overcome the other, it means that that particular band would be blessed with victory in war. What they were really saying is that their songs were more powerful than the others, and that their grandfathers' songs were the holiest. Then they all danced around the lodge, single file, and made their exit from the lodge. While they were dancing, the host sat still singing and beating his drum. They carry their kettles outside. Wherever they wish to eat, there they go and dance around the kettle of food first. Then they eat their meal. They dance in different bands.

796 The ceremony finishes with this feast. It is customary, however,
575 for the one who has been given the seat of honor, that is, the east
● [554] seat, to give a feast immediately afterwards. Then the one who has been invited first would do the same thing, so that all four would in this manner give dances in rotation. For this reason it generally took five nights before the ceremony was over. During those five nights no one could sleep. It is from this fact that the word, "Sore-eye Dance," which is the general term used for this ceremony, originated. If a person does not sleep for five nights, his eyes generally get sore, and that is why they call this ceremony the "Sore-eye Dance."

796 Sometimes they perform night-spirit tricks. These would be of
789 the following nature: A kettle is put on to boil and some individual
575 fishes out a piece of meat bare-handed without getting burned. At other times they shoot a hole into a drum covering, using a wild-cat claw as a missile. Then they immediately mend it.

When a man is very bad they shoot him with an object and kill him. They used to be very much afraid of such people. Sometimes they take a handful of live coals and embers from the fire, put them into their mouth and then spit them out without getting burned. It is for this reason that they are called holy. Sometimes they take burnt portions of a tree that had been struck by lightning, put them in the fire, and then when they are red hot take them out again and put them in their mouths without extinguishing them. They then spit them out, and it would look like lightning. Or they would shoot one another with cold charcoal. This is all that I know.

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her, there stood a very young woman, her hair like a shawl. "It is good, grandmother, and I thank you in the name of my aunts. Then for the second time she said, "Look at me." He looked at her and there stood a woman in middle age, her hair almost gray. "Well, grandmother, it is good, that is what I meant." Then for the fourth time she said, "Grandson, look at me." He looked at her. Her hair was entirely dried up, in the nape of her neck there was a hollow, and like a duck looking at the sun, she appeared. Her chin, like a wooden poker, burnt short, there she stood trembling. "Well, grandmother, this is what I meant when I said that you were to help me. My uncles and aunts that is what I wished for them, and I thank you."

773 776

Organization of the Bands

The medicine dance of the Winnebago consists of five bands. A sixth band is temporarily formed whenever the ceremony is given in honor of a deceased member.

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For purposes of description it will be best to divide each band into three parts—the leader, his two assistants, and the rest of the band. Leadership depends upon a thorough knowledge of the ceremony and its complete esoteric significance, which is in the possession of only a few individuals in each band. This knowledge can be obtained solely by purchase and religious qualifications. These religious qualifications, to which might be added moral as well, play little part at the present day, but there can be no doubt that they were essential in the past. The leader likewise often possessed other characteristics, such as those of warrior and shaman.

The two assistants were generally men who had purchased sufficient information and privileges to entitle them to help the leader in certain details of the ceremony. The drummers, rattle holders, dancers, etc., were always recruited from their ranks. Eventually they might become the leaders. Those who were neither leaders nor assistants possessed a knowledge varying from that of elementary information, required for admission, to that entitling them to the position of assistant.

There is a priority of position in the lodge, depending on priority of invitation. The band invited first occupies the east position; that invited second, the north; that invited third, the west; and that invited fourth, the south. The east is the position of highest honor; the south, that of the lowest. Between the bands there exists an order of invitation based on tradition, the exact nature of which is unknown. According to one informant, if one band invited another, the latter in turn would be obliged to give it the position of honor; but as there are five bands, this can apply only to special cases. Whatever may be the order, it is certain that each band has ample occasion to occupy all five positions.

[554]

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are made to them. Only the following spirits receive buckskins: Thunderbird, Night Spirits, Disease-giver, South Wind, Sun, Earth-maker, Moon, Morning Star, Earth, and Water.

(6) *The feasts.* There are two feasts, the one in the first division of the ceremony being generally known as the Thunderbird and that in the second division as the Night Spirit feast.

The guests are always divided into two divisions, the owners of war bundles and their male followers, and the women. The former, who are always warriors of repute, get the choice pieces of the deer, i. e., the heads, and the rest get the other pieces generally referred to as "the common pieces." The heads are eaten after those eating the common pieces have finished.

The host never eats at the feast he gives, but while the others are eating he plays on his reed flute.

(7) *The fast-eating contest.* Before the heads are eaten two men belonging to the upper phratry and two belonging to the lower (i. e., generally two members of the Thunderbird clan and two members of the Bear clan) are selected to take part in the fast-eating contest. This consists of consuming an equal amount of food. The one who finishes first is considered the greater warrior. Both contestants start at a given signal and continue the contest to the accompaniment of songs sung by the other guests.

When a member of the upper phratry gives the ceremony his side always wins, and vice versa.

(8) *The basic ritual.*—After the buckskin ritual has been finished the host begins what is unquestionably the fundamental part of the ceremony, which I have called the "basic ritual." It consists of four speeches, each speech followed by a different set of songs. The first speech is followed by a set of war-bundle songs; the second by a paint set; the third by a Disease-giver set; and the last by a Night Spirit set. The last speech also contains a fasting experience of the first owner of the war bundle. When he is finished, the general feast and the fast-eating contest take place, and the basic ritual is for the time interrupted. It is continued as soon as these are finished, but not in the same manner as performed by the host. Instead of four speeches there is only one. As soon as one guest finishes speaking the other begins, and so on until all have finished.[1]

In the second division of the ceremony the basic ritual is performed in a slightly different manner. In the first place there seem to be two parts to it, the first one quite different from the basic ritual as given in the first division, and the second identical with it except that instead of seven there are only four guests called upon to speak.

In the first part of the basic ritual, as given here, the host delivers three speeches. After the first one a set of Night Spirit songs are

[1] Additional information on the Winter Feasts might lead me to an alteration of this last statement. In addition to the present, three more accounts of Winter Feasts were received.

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sung; after the second one a dance song is sung and all the guests who so desire dance around the war bundle; after the third one the host passes the drum and other paraphernalia to the guest who is in charge of the buckskin destined for Earthmaker. This guest repeats the ritual in exactly the same manner as the host has done and then passes the drum, etc., to the second guest, and when the time comes he passes the drum, etc., to the third guest. Then the ritual of the throwing out of the buckskins intervenes, and after that the feast of the Night Spirits and the rite of those who have been crazed by the Night Spirits. Then, when these are finished, the basic ritual is continued. The continuation is, however, quite different from the first part and is identical with the basic ritual as given in the first part of the ceremony.

(9) *The throwing out of the buckskins.*—A warrior of great reputation is selected to begin the rites preparatory to the throwing out of the buckskins. One who has been blessed by the Night Spirits is preferably selected. He delivers a speech, and when he is finished the guests sing songs called "terminal Night Spirit" songs. Then the host prepares to sing a dance song, but before that he delivers a speech. Then, as the oldest men present sing, the host and the guests impersonating the spirits to whom tobacco is sacrificed take the buckskins and make the circuit of the lodge four times. An attendant precedes and another follows the procession, scattering incense consisting of branches of the arbor vitæ. Just before the fourth circuit is begun all the children smoke their hands and then touch the buckskin dedicated to Earthmaker. After the fourth circuit has been completed the buckskins are unrolled and thrown out through the top of the lodge, where the spirits are supposed to come and take them. After this, all holding tobacco in their hands walk to the fireplace and throw it in. Then, as a conclusion, all, even the women, rise in their respective seats and dance.

(10) *The episode of those who have been crazed by the Night Spirits.*—This is plainly an intrusive feature and does not take place at every performance of the ceremony. An individual who has brought himself to a state of religious frenzy strips himself entirely and behaves generally like one bereft of his senses. He sticks his hands into the boiling soup and makes a wild rush for the pot where the heads are being cooked and tries to bite them. It is believed that whoever gets the first bite will, at some future time, obtain a war honor. Then he takes the pipe placed in the center of the lodge, smokes it, and relates some war exploits. He then tells the assembled guests that in his trance he communicated with the spirits, and they told him that they had accepted all the offerings made.[1]

[1] There can be no doubt that we are dealing with an extremely specialized and interesting behavior, that in other tribes, and for that matter among the Winnebago themselves in other ceremonies, has an entirely different connotation.

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four warriors who have counted coup on the last warpath form the units of organization. The peculiarity of the War-bundle Feast is that it belongs not merely to one of these types but to two of them. 796x 571

The war bundles were originally family possessions and were, in the opinion of the writer, only secondarily associated with the clan as such. They represent a complex of blessings received from various spirits who are supposed to control the fortunes of war. They were handed down from one generation to another in the same family, but not necessarily to the eldest son, and could as a matter of default pass out of the hands of the immediate family. The individual who received the war bundle was that one who had by his interest, knowledge, character, and accomplishments demonstrated to the full satisfaction of the elder generation, more specifically to the elder generation represented by his father and close male relatives of his father's generation, that he was capable of continuing the ceremonials in a proper manner. It follows from this that he would have to be a well-known warrior. Now, it is customary among all the woodland tribes for a warrior who is about to start on a warpath to give a feast to which he invites all the other warriors, from among whom he, of course, has to draw his recruits; and at this feast he explains the nature of the contemplated warpath and his warrant—i. e., the thoroughness of the specific blessings he has received—for starting it. 778 [422] [787] [428] 554 778 [721 527]

In other words, we will have to picture to ourselves the war-bundle feast as originally a gathering of warriors preparatory to the starting out of a war party, in which the part of the host was always taken by the leader of the prospective war party. All of the well-known warriors were likely to have war bundles, and thus the basis for the development of what is, to all intents and purposes, a society of those who had war bundles was always present potentially. It is believed, however, that at the time the Winnebago culture was still in the formative stage this aspect of the gathering was entirely secondary, and that primarily it was a gathering of warriors for the immediate purpose of going on a warpath. 796x 721 575

It may perhaps be interesting to go into some details of how this "society" aspect of a gathering of warriors developed. This development probably took two lines—first, a religious one, and secondly, one of definite organization. It would be quite erroneous to say that it took these lines of evolution, because it is in the nature of societies thus to develop. This originally temporary organization took these lines of development because of the presence in the war-bundle ritual of two factors—first, fasting experiences associated with the same spirits, and, second, the influence of the clan organization.

Only a small number of spirits were specifically associated with success in war, and these were Disease-giver, Thunderbirds, Sun, and the Night Spirits. [776]

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among the Winnebago, and that was the strong development of clan consciousness among them. A man was first and foremost a member of his clan, and whatever he did redounded to the credit of his clan. This clan consciousness was due to the strong individuality the more important clans possessed. They had their own traditions, functions, and customs, and each clan was quite ignorant of the customs of the other. This clan organization was extremely old and, for that reason, it is not very likely that the war bundle developed before the clan organization had matured, and from being originally the private possession of a family, became subsequently associated with the clan. It is more likely that the war bundle developed after the clan organization had fully matured, but that it remained personal property. However, owing to the fact that the possessor was always an important man, there must always have been a consciousness of a certain proprietary ownership on the part of the clan in the particular war bundle within its midst. This perhaps accounts for the fact that while the bundle can pass out of the hands of a certain family, it can not pass into the hands of another clan. Subsequently the idea developed that a family was merely the custodian of the bundle for the clan. Such seems to be the popular conception among the Winnebago to-day, and it may have represented the popular conception when the Winnebago culture was still intact. I do not believe, however, that such a view would have been accepted by the family in possession of the war bundle or by the learned class in general.

The fact that there was as a rule but one war bundle in each clan does not mean that it was developed originally through the influence of clan consciousness, although there is reason to believe that some of the war bundles arose in this way, in imitation of "clan" bundles that already existed. The reason for the small number of war bundles is to be sought in the fact that there was a very small number of individuals possessed of the necessary qualifications, and that it was probably originally associated with villages or groups of villages.[1] Whatever were the reasons for the limitation in the number of war bundles in each clan, it unquestionably strengthened the idea of clan ownership. This idea must have been powerfully reinforced again by those war bundles that actually arose out of a clan-ownership impulse. If, therefore, the actual owners resent this claim of clan proprietorship both by reason of actual possession, of inheritance and consciousness of the sacrifices and expense they and their ancestors have incurred in maintaining the ceremonies connected with these bundles it is nevertheless a fact that their viewpoint is probably wrong in so far as it is supposed to represent the entire truth, either now or in the past. The actual unit of organization found at the feast is the clan and there, at any rate, the war bundle is a clan palladium. Perhaps

[1] This statement is made provisionally.

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614 778 this twofold interpretation really represents the war bundle in a twofold aspect, first apart from its association with the war-bundle feast and second from its association therewith.

That the clan is the unit of organization comes out clearly from the following facts: First, there are as many buckskins offered as there are clans; secondly, the order in which the guests are invited [554] is determined by the reciprocal relations existing between the different clans; and, thirdly, by references in the speeches. That the clan unit, on the other hand, has influenced the ceremonial aspect of the feast is apparent from the fact that offerings are made to the clan animals. For example, in the following ceremony offerings are made to the Eagle and Wona'yire Uaskcik, who seem to be of slight importance apart from their association with the clan.

x 796 [801] 621 571 The ceremonial unit in all Winnebago societies consists of four bands, four representing the sacred number, and the ritual consists of the passing of the paraphernalia from one to the other unit until it returns to the host. The war-bundle feast corresponds to the other societies in every respect, except that instead of four there are ten bands (with the band of the host, representing the eleven existing clans of the tribe). Had not the consciousness of the relation of the war bundle to the clan been so strong the ceremonial unit would probably have been found here, as it is found in all the other ceremonies.

x 796 [575 614] Summing up, then, we may say that the war-bundle feasts represent a mixed type corresponding exactly to no other Winnebago ceremony, and that beginning as a war feast it developed in addition some of the features of a secret society of the type exemplified by the Night Spirit society, with a unit of organization based on the clan; and that finally it became a general feast of thanksgiving to the entire Winnebago pantheon.[1]

CHARACTERIZATION OF THE SPIRITS MENTIONED IN THE WAR-BUNDLE FEAST

776 All the spirits to whom offerings are made in the war-bundle feast are guardian spirits, with the exception of Earthmaker. Some of them are conceived of as being human, while others have animal forms, and still others have an indeterminate body. The peculiar spirit, Disease-giver, has a form of his own, his body being divided into two halves, one half dispensing death and the other life. Earthmaker has no form, and in the few cases that he has been known to bless individuals he always lets his presence be known by some sign. There is generally a difference between the conception of the spirit as such and the form that he is supposed to assume

[1] The order in which these aspects are enumerated is not to be taken as representing a direct line of evolution.

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The buckskin to be offered to Earthmaker is marked with a cross in green. It is quite possible that the association of the cross with Earthmaker is due to Christian influence. But if this actually has been the case it is far more likely that the Christian influence led not to the actual borrowing of the Christian cross, but rather to the identification of an old Winnebago ceremonial symbol, namely, the crossed lines representing the cardinal points, with the cross, and its association with Earthmaker (pl. 48). 796x 778 782 [777]

The buckskin to be offered to the Thunderbirds is marked with three semicircular lines, the first red, the second white, and the third blue, to represent a rainbow (pl. 48).

The buckskin to be offered to the Night Spirits is marked with four parallel lines in charcoal (pl. 48).

The buckskin to be offered to Disease-giver is marked by dipping the three middle fingers in red paint and impressing them 12 times upon the buckskin in three vertical columns, with four impressions in each column. In addition to this an eagle feather is tied to each corner of the buckskin (pl. 48).

The buckskin to be offered to the Sun is marked with an image of the sun in red (pl. 47).

The buckskin to be offered to the Moon is marked with an image of the moon in any of its phases in green (pl. 47).

The buckskin to be offered to South Wind is marked in the same way as that to Disease-giver, except that green paint is used. A red eagle feather is attached to each end of the buckskin (pl. 47).

The buckskin to be offered to the Morning Star is marked with an image of a star in black outline (pl. 47).

These are the spirits to whom buckskins are offered in the ceremony about to be described, but the other clans seem to show variations in some offerings. Thus, for example, the spirit called "Without-horns" (Hĕ'rok'a) receives the offering of a buckskin in some cases. The marking for him is always a bow and arrow in charcoal. In another case Fire and Turtle receive buckskin offerings. Their markings are pictures of fire and turtle.

While the host is busy thus marking the buckskins the attendants put the meat in the kettles and place the sauce on the various fireplaces. There are always one or two extra kettles prepared for the women and children. 796x

The lodge extends from east to west and has only one entrance, on the east end. The host sits to the left as you enter and opposite him sits the guest of honor, who is, of course, different in each clan, but in the ceremony to be described he belongs to the Bear clan. Then, in definite order, sit the other guests, each one opposite a fireplace. The women and children sit separated from the others at the extreme western end of the lodge (see fig. 38). [554]

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Host's offering to Earthmaker.—"Hearken, Father who dwells above,[28] all things you have created. Yet if we would make an offering of tobacco you would accept it with thankfulness[29] (you said). So it has been said. I am about to offer a handful of tobacco and a buckskin for moccasins with it and a white-haired animal[30] to be cooked so that (you may have) a holy feast. These things I turn over to you. If you accept them, the first thing I wish to ask for will be (the honor of) killing (an enemy) outright, of leading warpaths, and of obtaining life honors.[31] That is what we would like to lead (i. e., a war party). That is what I would ask of you. My relatives, as many as are sitting around here, even that many ask the same things of you."

Host's offering to the Thunderbirds.—"Those in the west, our grandfather, Thunderbird Chief, you blessed grandfather, and I am now going to offer you a handful of tobacco. With thanks you will accept it (it has been said). Buckskin for moccasins, also, I am sending over to you. A feast made from one whom we regard as one of yourselves, whose body we are like.[32] I am sending along for you. Indeed a sacred feast I am offering you; that I am now sending toward you. As many of our clan members as are here, they (all) desire to make these requests: To kill an enemy outright, to lead a war party, and—O grant it to us!—a life honor. Life, that is what I pray for to you—that we ask of you. Our clan has put itself in a pitiable condition,[33] so that we may live a good life. That we ask of you."

Host's offering to the Night Spirits.—"You who live in the east, you who walk in darkness, you directed your minds toward grandfather, and for that I will pour tobacco for you, now and forever, so that you may bless me. A handful of tobacco, if we pour for you, we know it will make you thankful, and for that reason do I offer you some. A buckskin for moccasins and, together with it, a sacred feast that I am about to send toward you. With whatever you blessed grandfather, that I and all my clansmen who are here ask of you. This request, that one of us lead the war party you

[28] No Christian influence is to be suspected in this form of address.

[29] According to shamanistic cosmology, Earthmaker first created all the various spirits and bestowed upon each one of them certain powers. When finally he created man he noticed that he had nothing left to give him, so he decided to give him tobacco. This was to remain his exclusive possession, and not even he, Earthmaker, would be able to take it away from him. It was finally agreed that man would offer it to Earthmaker and the other spirits and receive in return therefor specific blessings.

[30] Ritualistic name for deer.

[31] "Killing an enemy outright" means killing him in the midst of his own people and without the assistance of anyone else. It was the highest war honor that a Winnebago could obtain and entitled him to wear an eagle feather in his hair. "Life honors" always refer to war honors.

[32] The whole phrase from "ražoi'ąga" to "rišā'ra hi'k'išiki-k,'djera," is the ritualistic expression for dog. The dog is referred to as "like one of ourselves" in deference to the fact that one of the clans is called wolf or dog. Thus in offering up the dog they wish to imply that they are offering up themselves.

[33] I. e., a condition which calls for pity.

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And a war-bundle owner for the second kettle should be called upon a kettle offered in connection with him whom we call Great Black Hawk. 796x 539x 782

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle placed for Disease-giver. 776

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle for the spirit whom they call South Wind.

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle for the Sun.

Then they also select another man to be in charge of a kettle put on for the Morning Star.[93]

Then the first one who had been called upon for a kettle takes as many pieces of food as there are individuals in his band who eat with him. The second one who had been called upon also takes enough pieces (for his band). 796x 539x 262

Those who are going to eat the head have to wait.[94]

Then all took enough pieces to suffice for their band.

Then they (the attendants) put the pieces of meat in plates and cut them up into small portions. Now all are in readiness for the meal. Only some of those in the lodge are called upon to eat the head. The plate of the others is filled with ordinary cuts (of meat). As many men and women as are present, for that many do they cut up the pieces of meat evenly and place them in the plate.

Only warriors are head eaters. Not to warriors do they give common pieces. Women and men who are not warriors can not take part in this head eating. Only men can take part in the head eating. They would not permit women to eat the head. However, those of the feasters who were warriors and had brought home war trophies would speak a good word for the trophy bearers, their sisters, their neices, and their aunts,[95] and these would be allowed to sit in the midst of the head eaters. The sisters or the aunts, whatever women were allowed to sit among the head eaters, considered it a very great honor. Thus all were encouraged to do. [554 562] [602]

Now (the preparations being finished) all are waiting for the meal and the host gets up and speaks.[96]

"I greet you all. When it (the meat) gets into the plate, then it is the time to try to get the spirit's attention by singing. War-bundle owners, who are seated here, I greet you all." (Eating song.)

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[93] In the first division of the ritual seven kettles are prepared; in the second division, four.

[94] The eating of the deer's head is the greatest honor that one can obtain in this ceremony, and only warriors are permitted to take part in it. [554 262]

[95] When a warrior returned from a successful war party with the first war honor, i. e., if he had counted coup first, he was given a wampum necklace, and this he presented to his eldest sister or to the daughters of his father's brother or mother's sister or to his mother's sister.

[96] This is the continuation of his speech that had been interrupted by the preparations for the meal [731]

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annoyed it. Host, I greet you. You who are impersonating the spirits, all of you, do I greet."

The Throwing Out of the Buckskins

Then the attendants give that war-bundle owner who is regarded as the foremost, as an expert, tobacco, for it is about time now that the various spirits should accept (the offerings).[49] Therefore they select a man who is proficient, one who has very likely been blessed by the Night Spirits and one therefore to whom they are likely to listen, a holy person, a man who has attained war honors. He is likely to be the best one to make the spirits cognizant of the buckskins. So they brought the drum for him to his place, and placed tobacco in his hand. Then he spoke as follows:

Speech of prominent guest.—"Host and members of his clan who are seated here, I greet you. You seated in this lodge who are impersonating the spirits, I greet you. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. It is good that the war-bundle owners have done so much for the host. He has brought us the means of blessing and caused us to come into this lodge and has fed us. He has permitted us to offer tobacco. It is good. Not insincerely should we speak on such an occasion, our father told us. If at any time the spirits pay any attention to a human being and permit him to offer them moccasins, rest assured that they will not let a weakling do this. If you are of any importance the spirits will accept the moccasins you have offered them. Indeed, my son, our grandfathers on both ends of the earth will have knowledge of these offerings,[50] they told each other."

For the Night Spirits they sang and alternately they would start up a song for the Thunderbird as they sat there.

After finishing a Night Spirit song, then they would start up one for the Thunderbird, and then they would sing Night Spirit songs and Thunderbird songs together. "If at any time they consider you a man and accept the moccasins you have offered them, use your power. Above all, be careful that you do not say anything in a frivolous manner. The host putting himself in a pitiable condition has with copious dropping of tears besought the spirits for war power. For life he has also besought them and has prayed to them with offerings of tobacco, food, buckskins, and feathers. Putting himself in a pitiable condition he has hunted for the spirits,[51] weakened himself through exposure to cold, and caused himself untold sufferings. Oh that I could have done similarly! It is for this (these laudable rea-

[49] I. e., that the buckskins should be placed where the spirits can get them.
[50] I. e., the Night Spirits living in the east and the Thunderbirds living in the west.
[51] I. e., hunted the deer that are used at the feast both for eating and for the buckskin offerings.

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ADDENDA

After they have finished the fast-eating contest and eaten the hearts and before the men are picked out [124] then the host greets all. 539x 796x

Speech of host. "War-bundle owners who are seated here, I send forth my greetings to you. Our grandfathers used to say that if one would take a chance at becoming a ghost [125] then the spirits would consider it especially good. There was one man among our grandfathers who was called He-who-shouts-in-the-distance and he put himself in the position of one who desires death. This warrior, He-who-shouts-in-the-distance, was a great man, an unequaled person. Now in summer it is forbidden to go on a warpath, for no good could come of it. That is why they forbade it. Yet He-who-shouts-in-the-distance went on the warpath four times during the summer, they said. Thus he became one who risked his life. In this way he proved that he was a great man. Finally he became holy and was permitted to carry the war bundle.[126] Thus does one do to be a person who takes risks with his soul.[127] Thus we will do at the very first feast we give. May (the spirits) also have pity upon us [as recompense for] the kettle of which they will partake. That is what we ask. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you."

[124] I. e., before the men to whom kettles had been assigned were called upon to speak.
[125] I. e., risk one's life in a brave way.
[126] It is one of the greatest privileges a warrior can obtain to carry the war bundle when on the warpath.
[127] I have purposely translated this phrase, "cunuŋ' nit hiwaŋ' dą," in three different ways to give all the different shades of meaning it possesses. [534 726]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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you can do so, and the women likewise can join, because we have raised up our bundle. To the dog that we have here, an offering of tobacco can be made." Thus speaking, he sings. After he has finished the song, someone specially called upon gives the war whoop, in which the rest join. In this manner they sing four times, and the ceremony ends. They have a dog around whose neck they tie a red rag, together with a bundle of tobacco, and to each of whose limbs they also tie a bundle of tobacco. This dead dog is to be placed wherever the bones that remain of the feast are buried, generally under some tree. It is supposed that the dog will go directly to the Disease-giver together with the tobacco and there be taken over by him.

Notes on the Thunderbird clan war-bundle feast.—Informant, member of the clan: Place of honor at the feast is given to the bravest man present. Scalps, etc., are always brought to those keeping the war bundle.

Contents of bundle: Black hawk (main thing), two wolf tails, buffalo tail, snake, weasel, three flutes—one red, one black, and one blue.

Black hawk used in time of war. If I were leading the war party I would carry it and it would be able to fly. It had a small bundle of medicine tied around the neck, on each wing and each leg. A red flute always went with it.

The two wolf tails could be taken on any warpath. It gives an individual the power of running. The medicine tied to it is to be smeared over the body in order to prevent fatigue. It is also used in hunting.

Buffalo tail gives fleetness and indicates that the man received strength from the buffalo spirit.

Weasel and snake could be put around the neck and worn over the shoulders in times of war. Gives the power of these respective animals in wiggling.

Flutes, blue in connection with the buffalo, red in connection with the black hawk, and black in connection with the night spirits

The War-bundle Feast of the Bear Clan

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The people were about to go on a hunt, it is said. They returned. Four deer had been killed. And again they went, and this time three deer were killed. But it was not sufficient, so they went out again, and when they returned it was found that they had killed only three deer. "Well," they said, "this will be all right. We have ten deer. Perhaps they will last as food until dawn."

They told the attendants to get ready the lodge and to build the fireplaces. They told them also to have the wood and the buck-

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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After the speeches were all over the offerings were taken down and thrown outside through the opening in the roof of the lodge and then night songs were sung. Before throwing the offerings out they marched around the lodge carrying them in their hands. At the approach of dawn the drum, gourds, etc., have about made the entire circuit of the lodge, and as soon as they reach the host he begins to sing the night songs. After these he sings turtle songs, and then the songs are over. The host now calls upon some one to give the war whoop, so that the spirits in the west may hear their voices. Nanhi'tcoga gave the war whoop. All joined in, and the feast was over.

Descriptive notes on the Bear clan war-bundle feast.—Informant, member of clan: About the middle of winter, in the month called deer-breeding month, the Winnebago used to go out hunting, and they gave a feast to all the spirits who had blessed them.

They are very careful not to have the kettles boil over, because they believe that a man's soul (*na-yi'ruk'*) might be wandering about and is likely to come down along the chain of the kettle. If it doesn't boil over, the man is likely to conquer the possessions of this spirit (of an enemy) in the next battle.

The invitation sticks are sent out only to men who own a war bundle, and the clans are invited in the following fashion: First the Wolf, then the Hawk, and then any order.

The contents of the war bundle represent the following: The crow means strength in running. The turtle and the spear, the blessings which enable one to get out of difficulties, the former referring especially to difficulties in crossing water; they also enable their possessor to foretell when enemies are approaching and to tell an individual how many enemies he is going to conquer. The flute represents the voices of musical birds. When an enemy hears them it paralyzes him and he can not run.

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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Clans are likewise referred to by names indicative of respect. Thus, the Water-spirit is referred to as *hunge*, male members of the Bear clan as *haga*, and female members of the same clan as *warowina*. It was claimed that these names were employed to avoid using the others. *Degoni* (meaning unknown, perhaps "lake-people") was also applied to the Bear; and *iconanke* (meaning unknown) to the Wolf.

Referring to the two village diagrams, we notice that according to Figure 1, four clans have their lodges definitely located—the Thunderbird, Warrior, Buffalo, and Bear; but that according to Figure 2 only two clans have definite location of lodges—the Thunderbird, and Bear. In addition there is, however, a special lodge for the men who have especially distinguished themselves in war, not necessarily to be identified with the members of the Warrior clan. The significance of the clan names has been discussed before.

The meaning of *iconanke* is unknown to-day, but it may be of interest as an example of the manner in which the name of a clan may possibly be reinterpreted that, when pressed for a meaning, *iconanke* was translated blue-back, which is a literal translation of *ico* and *nanke*, but which unquestionably represents a folk etymology, for, according to Winnebago grammar, *blue-back* would have to be *nanke ico*.

Legendary Grouping of Clans.

According to many clan legends, the clans originated in a definite order. As might be expected, this differs according to each clan, but the order of origin of the important ones seems to be constant. That is, practically all clan origin myths speak of the bird-clans as having originated first, and the Bear clan as having followed next. Yet even this did not hold true for all informants.

J., of the Bear clan, gave the following list:

Good Thunders (Thunderbird)
Bad Thunders (Warrior)
Eagle
Pigeon
Bear

3:Michelson E-4 (no date)1935

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In each village, the two civil chiefs, appoint all the officers, deemed necessary, civil and military, who obey them implicitly. There are two ways of arriving at these high stations, by birth and by election. When the father dies, if he has a son, who has arrived at the age of manhood, and who bids fair to make a good chief—that is, if he possesses a good form, has good bodily powers and mental faculties—is brave, sedate, wise and prudent, he generally succeeds his father in the government, on his father's demise. If the chief, at his death, leave no son who is qualified for the high office of chief, but wills it to some other person, he succeeds to the government. If the chief has no son at his death, it is commonly the case, that his brother's son succeeds him. The line of succession may run out for want of a lawful heir, which is always supplied by an election. It may be changed too, where the heir is unqualified for the station. Great deference is always paid to the will of the dying chief, but every such case is always laid before a full national council, whose decision is final (p. 97).

A chief may be degraded from his rank for bad conduct. . . .

There is in every tribe, what answers to a standing army among us. The profession of arms holds out, to the great mass of the common people, the only road to the temple of fame. . . . The young man, who aspires to the honorable distinction of a "brave" or warrior, must exhibit such traits of character, as are deemed necessary for a soldier to possess, before he can be admitted into the army. When admitted, he wears on his head just as many feathers of the bald eagle, as he has slain human beings, and the size of the feathers indicate the size of his victims. . . . If the warrior has taken a captive, he has a human hand as large as life, painted either on his face, or on some part of his body, or on his blanket, some individuals have several such hands painted upon them (p. 98).[1]

At the head of the army, belonging to each tribe, there is a person who occupies the same station as a General does with us, and he appoints all the inferior officers. The chiefs when met in council, call into it, their warriors, with whom they consult, but frequently they are called to receive the orders, which are obeyed to the letter. This council call before them, persons who are interested in the trial . . . (pp. 98, 99).

If the Senate of the United States is the mildest, the most patriotic and wisest legislative assembly in the civilized world, as it truly is, the Winnebago council, is decidedly at the head of the savage world. . . . The great body of the people have very little influence, almost none, with this council, and they never appear before it unless they are summoned to attend it.—They have no voice in electing the chiefs and in fact no political influence. The civil chiefs and the chief warriors, have in their hands, the whole government of the community, and they govern as they please. Disobedience to the orders of the rulers is punished with death, though, like the British nation, the Indians are not savages enough to cut the traitor into quarters after hanging him until he is dead (pp. 99, 100).

The female part of it, exercised the same influence among the women, that the chiefs did among the men, and the presents they expected from us, had to be better, than those given to the common people. The daughter of a chief, never mar-

[1] Quite different from the data given by Radin, The Winnebago Tribe, pp. 161, 162.

3: Michelson E-4 (no date) 1935
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554 502 582 ries into a family below her's in dignity. The pride originating in birth, is as deeply seated in the hearts of those who are nobly descended, among the natives of the Northwest, as it is among the petty princes of Germany.

625 It is customary for the chiefs to appoint two soldiers, in each village to keep order in it, and they faithfully do so (p. 100).

431 624 In each tribe, some one man acts as a divider, by order of the civil chiefs, and by general consent. Whenever we made the men any presents, of pipes, paints, tobacco, or any thing else, the self same men, if Winnebagoes were the Indians receiving the presents, appeared, took charge of the property, and divided it in the most equitable manner, among all present at the time. They reserved nothing for themselves, generally, but held up their empty hands to show their disinterestedness.

[171] If the Sauks and Foxes received presents, two men, one for each tribe, acted as dividers, and the same individuals always performed the same duty (pp. 100–101).

554 551 614 . . . "The rolling Thunder," "the Yellow Thunder," "the Distant Thunder," &c., are individuals among the Winnebagoes, who possess great weight of character; and that tribe to which belong men, who stand high on their roll of fame, for their distinguished valor in War, for their consummate prudence, experience and wisdom in the national councils, is emphatically called, "the thunder tribe" (p. 124).

114 There are other items appurtenant to Winnebago ethnology in Atwater's work; some to that of the Sauks and Foxes; some to tribes of the upper Mississippi valley in general: there are some acute statements regarding the chronology of the populating of America.

171 174 614 [114] [648] [551] A "turtle" gens does not occur in the lists of Morgan, Dorsey, and Radin, and Radin specifically denies that there is such a Winnebago gens. He also states that almost all informants claimed that the Snake and Fish clans (gentes) were recent to the tribe. However, as special names "go with" fixed gentes, by examining the lists of the signers of the treaties between the Winnebago and the United States, it becomes clear that a member of the Snake gens signed the treaty of August 19th, 1825 as well as the treaty of August 25th, 1828. And a Snake clan exists among the Ponca, Iowa, Oto-Missouri, Quapaw, as well as some non-Siouan tribes.[10] Also it may be observed that among the Osage and Quapaw we have a Fish clan (used rather loosely). So too "Turtle" as the name of a gens (sub-gens) among the Siouan tribes Omaha, Kansa, Quapaw, and Osage,[11] and elsewhere.

[551] And Carrymaunee (Karamanu, etc.), "Walking Turtle,"[12] signed more

[10] See the important theoretical discussion by Lowie in American Anthropologist, Vol. 36, 1934, pp. 327–28; cf. also Radin, the Winnebago Tribe, p. 182; Fletcher and La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe (Twenty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology), pp. 38, 39.

[11] Among the Omaha and Osage "the turtle carriers or bearers" and "Turtle-carriers" respectively; "Carries-a-turtle-on-his-back" among the Kansa: observe that according to the above Carrymaunee "carried" a large painted tortoise on his back.

[12] The phonetic restoration is presumably Kèramani; mani means "to walk," as can be seen from old vocabularies, etc., as well as the personal names given by Radin in his The Winnebago Tribe and the Winnebago text by Radin in the Siouan sketch in Handbook of Ameri-

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

Early Childhood

In the fall of the year we would pick cranberries. When the hunting season was open, I would begin to fast again.

This was my life for a number of years.

After a while we bought a pony on which we used to pack all our belongings whenever we moved our camp. In addition three of us would ride on top of the pack. Sometimes my mother and sometimes my father drove the pony.

After I had grown a little older and taller all of us brothers would fast together. My father would indeed repeatedly urge us to fast. "Do not be afraid of the burnt remains of the lodge center-pole," he would say to us.[5] "Whatever are the true possessions of men, the apparel of men and the gift of doctoring—all these things that are spread out before you—do try and obtain one of them."[6] Thus he would speak to us.

I would then take a piece of charcoal, crush it and blacken my face and he would be very grateful to me

I would at first break my fast at noon but then gradually I began to fast all night. From the fall of the year until spring I would fast until nightfall and then eat. After a while I trained myself to pass the night without eating and after that I was able to go two nights and days without taking any food. Then my mother went to the woods at some distance from the

[5] Symbolical manner of describing the crushed charcoal with which fasters must blacken their faces.

[6] By "possessions of men" he means mainly that knowledge which will make a man honored and respected in his community; and by "apparel of men," he means power and ability.

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

§2. *My Brother-in-Law Thunder Cloud*

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[551]

My brother-in-law was named Thunder Cloud. It is said that he was living his third life as a human being.*

This is his account:

I once lived with a small group of Indians numbering about twenty camps. When I had grown up to be a lad, although still not large enough to handle a gun, a war-party attacked us and killed us all. I did not know, however, that I had been killed. I thought that I was running about as usual until I saw a heap of bodies on the ground and mine among them. No one was there to bury us, so there we lay and rotted.

My ghost was taken to the place where the sun sets. There I lived with an old couple. The land of the spirits is an excellent place and the people have the best of times. If you desire to go anywhere all that you have to do is to wish yourself there and you reach it. While there I thought I would like to come to the earth again so the old man with whom I was staying said to me, "My son, did you not speak about wanting to go to the earth again?" I had as

* The belief in reincarnation is very widespread among the Winnebago. It is generally believed that if any child resembles some deceased individual he is that individual reincarnated. Not every person, however, can become reincarnated. This is a privilege that belongs only to the more prominent people and to the members of the most sacred of Winnebago ceremonies, the Medicine Dance.

[554] ●
[996]

Fasting

Just then my older brother came home and they objected to his return for he had not been blessed. However, he took some food and ate it. 159* 787

My brother J., however, obtained a blessing. When he reached the age of puberty my father called him aside and told him to fast. He told him that it was his fervent wish that he should begin to fast in order to become holy, to become invincible and invulnerable in war. He wished him to become like one of those Winnebago of whom stories are told. He assured him that if he fasted he would really be holy and that nothing that exists on this earth would be able to molest him; that he would live a very long life and that he would be able to cure the sick. He told him that if he were blessed no one would dare to make fun of him and that they would be very careful how they addressed him; first, because they really respected him and secondly, because they were afraid of getting him angry. He was to fast until spring and then he was to stop, for there are many bad spirits about in the spring who are likely to deceive a faster. 159* 785 554● 787 [576] [776]

Near our village there was a hill called *Place-where-they-keep-weapons*. This hill was very high, steep and rocky. It was a very holy place. There it was that my father wished my brother to fast for it was the place where he himself had fasted. Within this hill lived the spirits whom we call *Those-who-cry-like-babies*. These spirits are supposed to possess arrows and bows. Twenty of them were supposed to be in this hill. My father had control of them and when [778] [776] ooo

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

§5. *Names*

Whenever they think highly of any individual in a family they give him the means for obtaining a happy life. If the older people think highly of any one they prearrange the kind of life he is to lead afterwards. With this object in view, my uncles told my brother the story of how human beings first came into this world, the story of the origin of our clan.

The Story of the Origin of Our Clan

Earthmaker was sitting in space when he came to consciousness. Nothing was to be found anywhere. He began to think of what he was to do and finally he cried. Tears flowed from his eyes and fell below where he was sitting. After a while he looked below and saw something bright. The bright objects were tears, of which he had not been aware and, which falling below, had formed the present waters. They became the seas of to-day.

Then Earthmaker began to think again. He thought, "Thus it is whenever I wish anything. Everything will become as I wish it just as my tears have become the water of the seas." So he wished for light and it became light. Then he thought, "It is as I have supposed; the things that I wished for, come into existence as I desired." Then he again thought and wished for this earth and this earth came into existence. Earthmaker looked at the earth and

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

about two days' distance from their camp. They arrived at 539
the destined place at evening and the woman pitched the tent, while the man went out to gather wood. Since there was nothing to eat he told his wife that he would go in search of food immediately. He took his bow and arrows and left. While he was gone the woman fetched some water, filled the kettle and put it on the fire so that it would be ready when her husband returned. At dusk he returned carrying a deer on his back. This he set down outside and the woman skinned it and prepared it in the usual manner by cutting it first into small pieces and then drying these by the heat of the fire. Then they all sat down and ate and, shortly after, went to bed. The woman and children were soon fast asleep but the man stayed awake planning the hunt for the following day, for he wished very much to please his father-in-law. On the following morning he told his wife that if, during his absence, anything should happen she was under no circumstances to leave the children. Then he took his bow and his arrows and went away.

Now in the olden days it was considered a very brave [554]
thing for a man to camp at some distance from the main settlement and that is why, on this occasion when he was leaving, the man said to his wife, "If anything happens to you while I am away, remember that I will return immediately." He wished to show how much he loved her. He was out all day hunting and he killed a deer, skinned it and began carrying it home on his back. When he was near the site of his little camp he noticed that the lodge-poles were all standing upright and he knew immediately [927]
what had happened; he knew at once that his wife and children had either been killed or captured. He felt terrible but he laughed when he reached the lodge and found

Crashing Thunder

*701 Now all this it would be well for you to obtain. Try to
*159 be a leader of men. To become one, however, is very
867 difficult, the old people used to say. It may happen that
787 you merely pretend to be a leader of men, that you are but
a mere warrior in the ranks and yet take it upon yourself to
[686] lead a war-party and thus cause a needless waste of life,
that you do what is called "throwing away a life." That
is the most shameful of all acts. The relatives of the person
[627] whom you have thus sacrificed would then have the right
to make you suffer, to torture you with burning embers.
And then your relatives would have to stand by, sad and
humiliated. Not with the blessing of one, not with the
blessings of twenty spirits, can you go on the warpath.
*159 For that the blessings of all the spirits are necessary—those
867 on this earth, those under it and those who lie pinned
776 through it, the Island Weights; those in the waters and
787 those on the side of the earth, the winds, all four of them.
You need the blessings of the spirit who dispenses life from
one side of his body and death from the other, the bless-
ings of the Sun, the Moon, the Daylight, and the Earth.
All these Earthmaker has made controllers of war and by
*787 all these must you be blessed in order to lead a war-party.
*159 My son, if you cast off your dress for many people, that
867 is, if you give to the needy, your people will be benefited
[135] by your deeds. It is good thus to be honored by many
people. And even more will they honor you if you return
● [554] victorious from the warpath with one of the four limbs, that
is, one of the four war honors. But if you obtain two, or
three, or perhaps even four limbs, then all the greater will
be the honor. Then whenever a war feast is given you will
receive part of the deer that is boiled, either part of its
000 body or part of the head.[18] When on some other occasion,

[18] The meat of a deer at such a feast is given only to great warriors. The head is regarded as the choicest piece.

7. Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

of his wife and refuse to go on a warpath. He might as well have been brought up as a girl. Men who are real men perform the deeds of men, but such a man will never perform a real man's deed. If he should actually attend a war-bundle feast he will be given the leanest piece of meat, only given to a man of no account. Why should any one run the risk of being thus jeered at? Now when a really brave man attends a war-bundle feast he is given a deer's head. This other man gets a lean piece! It will dry up in his throat, so humiliated and disgraced will he feel. After a while he will not be allowed to go to any feast; his wife will not let him. He will listen to the voice of his wife. His relatives will scold him, his sisters will think nothing of him. They will tell people never to go to visit him. Finally when he has become a real slave of his wife he will even hit his relatives if she asks him to. It is for these reasons that I warn you not to listen to women. You will be considered different from others. It is not good.

Remember this too, that women cannot be watched. If you try to watch them and are jealous about them, then your female relatives will also be jealous of them. Finally when your jealousy has developed to the highest pitch, your wife will leave you and run away with some one else. You have allowed her to see by your actions that you worship a woman, and one alone, and, in addition, you have been watching her all the time. Because of this incessant annoyance she will run away from you. If you think that

of these spirits, a buckskin decorated with the symbol sacred to the spirit, was prepared and then at the most dramatic moment of the ceremony these buckskins were thrown out of the ceremonial lodge and it was believed that the spirits came down in person to fetch them. The war-bundle feast was specifically a man's ceremony.

*159 your wife is the only one to love, you have humbled yourself
[581] and she will be taken from you. You have likewise made
869 the woman suffer; you have made her unhappy. The whole
562 world will hear about it. No other woman will want to
593 marry you and you will have the reputation of being a
bad man.

[577] Now you may act in the following way: You see people
[921] starting on a warpath and you join them knowing that it
is an honor to die on the warpath. But you will join them
because you feel unhappy at your wife's flight. Now this
is not the proper way to act. You are throwing away your
life; you are causing the leader of the war-party to throw
away a life. If you want to go on the warpath, do not go
because your wife has been taken away from you, go
because you feel courageous enough to do so.

[785] It is on the warpath that a man has fun! Do not go,
[926] however, unless you have fasted adequately. You must
fast for each specific warpath. If you do not and yet
join a war-party, then in the midst of the fight, a bullet
will come your way and kill you. That will happen because
you did not fast. If you have performed any deeds of
valor, recount them to your sisters and to your sister's
children. Those in charge of war-bundles are good to
listen to in such matters. Those to whom such people give
advice will eat an excellent dish; they will have the
● [554] honor of sitting near a great warrior in the middle of the
lodge.

*159 These are the things of which the old people spoke and
869 this also is the advice I give you. I myself never asked
599 for these things, but my father did. Your grandfather
did. He asked for the information relating to the manner
in which people are to behave. Never, when you are older,
should you allow yourself to get in the predicament of not

The Medicine Dance

I, of course, thought that it must indeed be a marvelous thing and I was very happy about it. What I was most eager to see was myself killed and then brought to life again in the lodge, as it was believed happened to the members of the Medicine Dance. I also realized that a member of the Medicine Dance, whether man or woman, was different from a person not belonging to it and I was quite anxious not to be an ordinary person any longer but to be a medicine man.

As soon as we finished building the ceremonial lodge the ceremony began, and the first thing the people did was to sing. Then the leader of the band that was giving the dance arose and delivered a speech:

All those who are sitting here I greet. We are waiting for all of you to have compassion upon us. Nephew,[23] I shall now tell you the road you are to travel. He whom we call nephew, the hare, the founder of the Medicine Dance, obtained this life-ensuring ceremony for us. This is the only life; no other exists. Exert yourself to follow in the road of your ancestors and adhere to the ceremony that represented their mode of life. I know you will hearken to what I say. Assuredly you will listen, for thereby you will help and benefit yourself and, at the same time, attain the good life.

Never do anything wrong. Do not steal. Do not quarrel. If on any occasion you meet a woman on the road, turn to the right, never to the left. No matter who the woman is, do not take liberties with her. This is what the old people taught us and if you perform the rites of this ceremony you will obtain the life that we desire for you.

[23] The person to be initiated is always called nephew.

§22. *We Kill a Pottawattomie*

* 159 588 837 I never married any woman permanently. I would live with one for awhile, and then with another. Sometimes upon my return after an absence I would find my temporary wife living with another man. This is the way in which I acted.

* 159 787 721 My father had brought me up and had encouraged me to fast, so that I might be blessed by all the spirits that exist, and thus live in comfort. My father had raised me so that I should desire to obtain war honors,[39] so that I should not be like one who wears skirts. That was the reason he had me join the Medicine Dance so [624] that people should not be able to ridicule me. My [867] father taught me to lead a sober and sane life and my grandfather, during the time I lived with him, had told me the same. They both encouraged me to give feasts and to ask the spirits for war honors.

* 159 721 At that time I had a comrade, and one day he said to me, "We have been thinking of something, have we not, friend? We ought to try and obtain some external emblem of our bravery. Do we not always try to wear feathers at a Warrior Dance? Well, then, let us try

● [554] [301] [39] These war honors were the following: touching the body of a slain enemy first, killing an enemy, touching the body second, touching it third, stealing a horse. All of them entitled the possessor to wear an eagle feather in his hair.

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

to obtain war honors, so that we can wear head ornaments." So did we both speak to each other. We both liked the idea, and so we decided to go in search of war honors. We decided to kill a man of another tribe; we meant to perform an act of bravery. We started out finally. There were four of us, and we went to a place where other tribesmen congregated. We took the train and carried some baggage with us. We took ropes along, for we intended to steal some horses, and if we found the opportunity, kill a man. Horse stealing was regarded as a praiseworthy feat, and I had always admired the people who recounted the number of times they had stolen horses, at one of the Warrior Dances. That was why I wished to do these things.

We proceeded to a place where horses of other tribes used to pasture. Just as we got there we saw the owner of some of these horses and killed him. My friend killed him. Then we went home, and secretly I told my father all about it. I said to him, "Father, you said it was good to be a warrior and you encouraged me to fast and I did so. You encouraged me to give feasts and I did so. Now we have just returned from a trip. We were looking for war honors and the young people who were accompanying me decided that I should lead them. I told them that it was a difficult thing to lead warriors, my father had always told me, and that I had always been given to understand that a person could lead a war-party only in consequence of a specific blessing received from the spirits. I was not conscious of having received any such, I told him.

We Kill a Pottawattomie

you to do this. Of your own initiative you could not possibly have done it. However, we had better not have a Victory Dance as yet. We have the honor anyhow. We must be careful about the Whites. In the old days we were at liberty to live in our own way, and when such a deed as yours became known, your sisters would rejoice and dance, we are told. Now, however, the law of the Whites is to be feared. In due time you will get a chance to announce your feat and then you can wear a head ornament for you have earned that right for yourself."

159* 721 [729] [648] [554]

[P. 151]

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12

Winnebago Berdache

By NANCY OESTREICH LURIE

THE following account draws attention to the fact that the berdache role was still evident in Winnebago culture until close to the turn of the century, and adds somewhat to the data of certain clear cultural parallels between this Woodland Siouan group and such Plains Siouan tribes as the Omaha, Oto, Iowa and Ponca. The description is not complete and certain points are equivocal. Thus, all of the available ethnographic documentation will be presented so that anyone intending to use the information will be able to assess its value. The description given here agrees, Dr. Raul Radin said in a conversation, with his unpublished Winnebago data.

During the course of general field investigations conducted from time to time during the years 1945 to 1947, it was apparent that Winnebago informants in Wisconsin tended to be reticent to discuss the matter of the berdache. Their embarrassment may indicate that knowledge of the subject was withheld. However, even where excellent rapport existed and individuals became sufficiently interested in the topic to question people who might not speak directly to an ethnographer, some details remain uncertain. Furthermore, while the last berdache died somewhat over fifty years ago, the picture is confused by the former tendency of Winnebago culture to invest given forms of traits with opposite meanings and functions when used under different circumstances. At the present time, the recollections of many informants reveal that they know only half of the total function of given forms, or that they attempt to synthesize features which now appear as contradictory.

While it was noted in 1950 that the Nebraska Winnebago were quite willing to speak of matters that in Wisconsin are still considered sacred or as things to be kept secret from whites, the Nebraska Winnebago simply knew less about older traditions.

It was agreed generally that the berdache was a man who had taken on this role because he had been directed to do so by the moon, a female spirit, at the time of his vision quest. The berdache dressed as a woman, performed women's tasks better than any normal woman could perform them, and had the ability to foretell future events. However, not all Winnebago prophets were berdaches. One informant mentioned that berdaches sometimes married other men, but no data were obtained concerning the attitude of the society toward the husband of a berdache. Most informants felt that the berdache was at one time a highly honored and respected person, but that the Winnebago had become ashamed of the custom because the white people thought it was amusing or evil. By the time the last known berdache attempted to fulfill the role, his brothers threatened to kill him if he "put on the skirt." This berdache then affected a combination of male and female clothing, fearing that he would die if he did not at least attempt to follow the directions given him in his vision of the moon.

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12

838 the formal role of berdache for men was observed within the memory of people born since 1885, at least in Wisconsin. Of particular interest is the fact that the Winnebago utilized the same characteristics of dress and behavior for two entirely different purposes. In the case of a true berdache, the person held an [554] honored and respected position in the society, while a man who was forced to take on a female role without benefit of a blessing by the moon was disgraced and dishonored.

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the young faster to overreach and destroy himself. Thus we see along what lines the reinterpretations of the priest-thinker were made.

This was the theory that the priest-thinker tried to impress upon his fellowmen in order to introduce a greater sense of confidence and security in the relationship between man and the deities. Because of the very high demands it made upon the worshipper, it remained largely a philosophical-ethical ideal and the fairly sharp line of demarcation between human beings and the spirits continued in force as the popular theory. Some there were who even insisted that it was, not only the courageous, but the morally justifiable thing to do, to coerce the deities into acquiescing in man's demands. That was the proper way to meet divinity, to challenge the gods, accept what they granted and, then, to attempt to fulfill the conditions imposed even if they meant death. Few individuals in the community, for instance, had greater prestige than the few who had secured a blessing from the much dreaded deity, *Disease-giver*. He had two faces, one dealing life and the other death. No suppliant knew which side would be turned toward him when he made his offerings, at noon, in the full blaze of day, contrary to what held for all the other deities, namely, that they must be approached at night.

This, of course, is the warrior's creed and, in a civilization like that of the Winnebago where the highest ambition as a man was to achieve distinction on the warpath, it naturally was very important. Yet to this, the chief of the tribe might well retort: such courage and such risks have their moral justification only when one is fighting the enemy or avenging the death of a kinsman. They are inapplicable when approaching a god. The taking of great risks concerns not only oneself but the whole community and must be subject to the sanctions of the community. A person must be carefully and properly educated before he dare take them. To exhibit fearlessness and heroic courage is, in itself, no virtue. Indeed, in the wrong place or on the wrong occasion, they can and do lead to death and destruction.

And so, in the realm of religion as in that of social organization and mythology, the problem to be faced is depicted as being the same. How are we to resolve the differences between the 'earth' interpre-